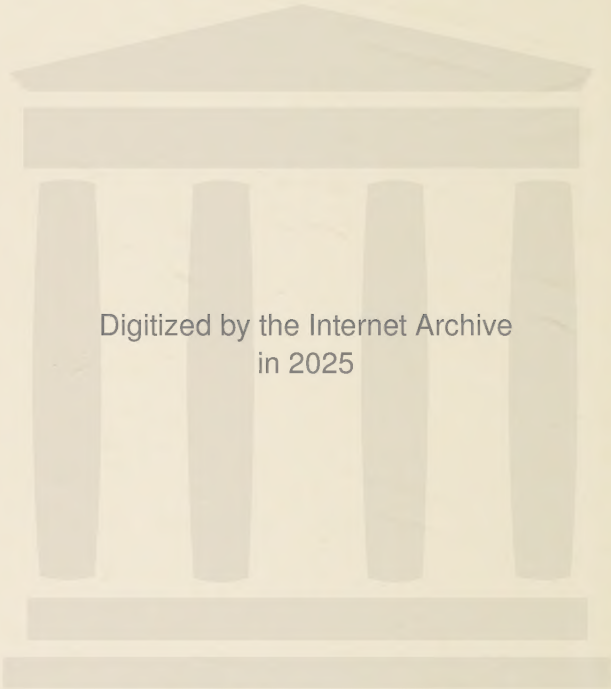

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An Outline of IRELAND'S STORY

An Outline of Ireland's Story

By the Author of

'Christianity in England before Augustine'

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WORKS REFERRED TO

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AN

OUTLINE OF IRELAND'S STORY

CHAPTER I

EARLY INHABITANTS

THE history of Ireland is little understood by most people, and the annals of its early times are so difficult to unravel that it is not surprising they have been left to those who are interested in research.

It would be impossible to discover what race of people first possessed the country, but the names of successive conquering tribes have been handed down.

The latest of those who may be said to have made themselves masters of the island in very early times are the Celts or Kelts, an ancient race which overspread a large portion of Europe. 'Of the Celts who settled in the British Isles,' we read, 'there were two main divisions, the Gaelic and the Cymric . . . to the latter belong the ancient Britons, while those of Ireland belonged to the Gaelic stock.'

It has lately been declared that besides the remnants of stronger races in Ireland there were, before the

A fairy people

Celts came, individuals of a smaller race who had to hide themselves away to avoid destruction from the invaders. It has been discovered that these 'little people' have left traces of their habitations at the base of hills and mountains, such as Cave Hill, near Belfast. It is said by sober antiquarians that as these people lived in caves and huts and only came out at night, they probably gave rise to the stories so prevalent in Ireland about the doings of the fairies. Naturally they disappeared entirely after a time, having died out, but the legends of which they were the origin are still repeated with the accretions of succeeding ages, and have left a real dread of the 'little people' in the less cultured parts of Ireland.

The Celts

We have now to do with the Celts. They were doubtless all heathen when they came, and there is much legendary history in connection with both branches of the race.

'The Gaelic was subdivided into Milesians and Criuthne. The latter tribe took possession of Ulster, the northern province of Ireland. They were, it seems, at length confined in Ireland to the district called Dalriada, of which the present county of Antrim formed a part. The Milesians spread themselves over the other divisions of Ireland.'

Ancient name of Ireland

'The Island was called "Scotia" by the Romans, and also Eriu or Hibernia, from which its present name Erin or Ireland is derived.

'Down to the eleventh century the name of Scots or Scoti was always applied to the inhabitants of Ireland,' but when Alba, part of Caledonia, was colonised by Scots from Ireland the land they settled in came to be called Scotia-Minor, and gradually the name of Scotland was appropriated by it, and was no longer applied to Ireland. Origin of the term Scotland

The 'kilt,' it has been said, was originally the Irish garb and was introduced by the Scots into Caledonia, and this petticoat was called from them a 'kilt.'

However this may be, there was constant communication between all the Celtic peoples, and though their dialects were different, the learned amongst them were able to communicate with each other, and manuscripts of the Bible and of other books were interchanged throughout Ireland, Wales, Brittany, and even far-off lands by travellers. Indeed, it is suggested that the Roman appellation Scoti is derived from a word meaning 'wanderer' or 'traveller.'

Christianity had been early introduced into Ireland, and its type was that of the Eastern portion of the Church before the Great Schism took place. The round towers, crosses of peculiar decoration, hermits' cells made of stones, ancient writings, &c.—all point to the forms prevailing in Syria and Egypt. Celtic Christianity

The Celtic 'monasteries' were very different from those imposing buildings called monasteries in

later times. The former were probably like those of Wales—a sort of compound, fenced in from the attacks of wild men and savage animals. These enclosures contained huts of rude stones and less durable materials, and were inhabited by recluses of both sexes who wished to devote their lives to prayer and the study of the sacred Scriptures. Others, who joined the community merely for the sake of mutual protection and safety, occupied themselves with art and domestic occupations. All were under the rule of a Coarb or Abbot.

There were scribes in these seats of learning whose occupation was to copy the Holy Scriptures (especially the four Gospels). There are in Dublin some very ancient manuscripts certainly copied in Ireland, such as the 'Book of Kells,' containing the four Evangelistic writings with wonderful ornamental tracery, quite different from the later illuminated copies made by monks of the Latin Church.

St. Patrick

We may not owe the first introduction of the Gospel into Ireland to St. Patrick. It had not, however, made much progress when he felt called to preach to the people who had at one time held him in bondage. There is much obscurity with regard to his labours, but it is generally acknowledged that he was a true missionary, and that his preaching was from the Word of God and accompanied by wonderful results. His autobiographical sketch is

accepted as genuine, and shows him as an earnest and God-fearing man without great learning, but sincere and humble, and it is free from any references to the 'miracles' which spoil the other accounts of his life that profess to honour his name. He was possibly of the Celtic race, though born (as is believed) in southern Scotland.

Irish missionaries

In the sixth and seventh centuries missionaries from the Celtic Church in Ireland went to Italy, France, and Switzerland, and one, St. Gall, has been commemorated in the name of the Swiss canton so called. Before him another celebrated man, St. Columba, laboured in the Isle of Iona. These missionaries took with them copies of the Holy Scriptures written in Ireland, some of which are now in the libraries of those countries. Several in Italy and Belgium are highly prized: writing in the Erse or Celtic language is traceable on them, the text being an ancient Latin one.

CHAPTER II

THE NORMANS IN IRELAND

In the eleventh century the Normans cast longing eyes on the Western Islands, especially on England, and Duke William laid claim to its possession—and successfully invaded and conquered it in 1066. Being fully occupied in consolidating his power there, William had no time to attempt further conquest, and his successor Henry I also remained inactive towards Ireland. But it was not long to continue unnoticed, and Henry II, soon after his accession in 1155, laid the subject of its annexation before his Council. The Christianity of Ireland had been, as we have seen, of an Eastern type—that of the ancient Celtic Church (such as had prevailed in Britain before the Saxon invasion), and Ireland had not up to this time been entirely brought under the tutelage of the Roman Pontiff.

The Danes of Dublin had nominally become Christians of the Roman Church, and the Popes desired to have the whole country subject to Rome.

When therefore Henry II sent his chaplain to obtain leave for his project, he received the sanction of Pope Alexander II.

The Bull of Pope Adrian IV

But it was not till the time of Pope Adrian IV that the actual 'Bull' was given. This well-authenticated document is curious and interesting. The Pope's desire is 'that the Church [of Rome] may be extended and the truths of the Christian religion taught to a rude and unlettered people,' and he adds: 'You have signified to us . . . that you propose to enter the island of Ireland in order to reduce the people to obedience unto laws[1] [that is of the Church of Rome] and to root out from amongst them the weeds of sin, and *that you are willing to yield and pay yearly from every house the pension of one penny to St. Peter*, and to preserve the rights of the Churches [R.C.] in that whole land inviolate,' &c.

Dermot, King of Leinster

It was not, in fact, till 1171 that Henry found a fit occasion to carry out his purpose. Dermot, King of Leinster, came at that time to seek the aid of the Anglo-Norman King to recover his rights in Ireland, as he had been hopelessly defeated and driven away. Henry was too much occupied in other conflicts to pay much attention to this, but Dermot found a Norman noble, Richard de Clare, ready to espouse his cause, and with Henry's permission Clare (otherwise Strongbow) and several other adventurers—

[1] The Irish had a special code of laws of very ancient date.

Robert FitzStephen (a Norman-Welsh knight), Maurice FitzGerald, and others—encouraged by Dermot's offer to give them one of his towns called Wexford, should the expedition prove successful, set off to invade Ireland.

By degrees the Normans succeeded in gaining considerable foothold in the country. Dermot, having by their aid nominally regained some of his lost territory, died, and de Clare prepared to make good his claim to succeed him in the possession of Leinster. This greatly alarmed the Irish. It is said that at a Synod of Clergy held at Armagh it was acknowledged that their troubles were deserved for the wickedness of their people in having kept as slaves many of the English, who had been captured by pirates, and others who had been purchased by traders dealing at English ports, and the Synod declared that all Englishmen then in bondage should be set at liberty. Whether this decree was carried out we know not.

Henry II visits Ireland

Henry, however, became alarmed at the high-handed way in which the Norman nobles in Ireland were acting. He was doubtful of their loyalty to himself, so he came at last with a large armed retinue to Dublin. 'He required all the Roman clergy and their people to acknowledge his right to Ireland, by virtue of the Bull granted to him by the Pope, and he obliged de Clare and his party to renew their oath of allegiance to him forthwith.'

It will be seen that these conquests resulted in the settlement of great numbers of Anglo-Normans of the Roman Church in Ireland, bringing with them their own customs and manners. Their names are found, together with those of Spanish and Danish origin, amongst the inhabitants of Ireland at the present day, showing that the population is a very mixed race.

The Irish a mixed race

From these times up to the Reformation the inhabitants of Ireland, Scotland, England, and most parts of the continent of Europe were under the sway of the Roman Church. It might have been concluded that as the Irish and Normans were of one religion, there would not have been so much hatred and fighting; but this was far from the real state of the case.

We find wars being carried on from the earliest heathen times, and fighting during the English efforts at colonisation and subjugation. There was, notwithstanding, an undercurrent of assimilation going on, through intermarriage and what is called 'fostering,' and some of the early Anglo-Norman settlers became, it is said, 'more Irish in their manners and dress than the indigenous inhabitants,' and this added to the difficulties, already great, of governing the island.

It is necessary to study the history of these times consecutively and not to take one period alone. It must be recognised that the events which had occurred

and the conditions which prevailed rendered necessary the adoption of severe measures towards the unsettled population in order to prevent the country relapsing into barbarism. Doubtless mistakes were made, but it is unfair to apply to those days principles which now regulate the conduct of civilised nations towards their dependencies—principles which were then never practised by any nation and which have only been advocated in later times.

Ancient proverb

The following is an ancient proverb: 'Unguentem pungit pungentem Hibernicus ungit' (i.e. the worst means of governing the Irish is to give them their own way).

Professor Mommsen on the Celts

Professor Mommsen's portrait of the Celts in his 'History of Rome' may be given in support of the above proverb. The gist of his remarks is as follows: 'It is, and remains in all times and places, the same indolent, poetical, irresolute and fervid, inquisitive, credulous, amiable and clever [that is cute] race; but from a political [i.e. governmental] point of view, incapable as a nation, and therefore its fate has been always and everywhere the same.'

CHAPTER III

IRELAND UNDER ELIZABETH AND JAMES I

At the Reformation England threw off the yoke of Rome—Scotland followed, but Ireland as a whole did not. This produced a new cause of struggle between the two peoples. There was henceforth a divided allegiance—that owing to the Crown, and the sense of obligation to the behests of a foreign power as carried out by the clergy of the Roman Church. Those who became enlightened by the teaching of the Bible, which had been translated into the English language in the sixteenth century, desired to disseminate the Scriptures amongst the Irish in their native tongue. It seems that Queen Elizabeth was favourable to the undertaking, but some of her advisers were against it, and probably the ignorance of the Irish would in any case have prevented them from reading and understanding the Bible.

The Reformation

The Bible remained for many years an unknown book to the Irish-speaking people, but in later times

a good translation was made, and earnest men have been employed in teaching and in reading the Holy Scriptures to those desiring to learn, but great ignorance of Scripture still prevails in some parts of the country.

But to return to the history. Notwithstanding the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the Church of Rome still aimed at counteracting the Reformation in England, and was ready to aid the Irish in rebellion, with a view to establish that Church in authority in Ireland.

Some progress had been made in civilisation in Ireland and a measure of prosperity was showing itself. Many settlers from England were attracted to Munster and Leinster; but peace was not long to be enjoyed.

Rebellion of Irish

'O'Neill, the Earl of Tyrone, one of the old stock, had been much favoured by Queen Elizabeth, but became not only an unruly Irish chief, but a skilful and dangerous conspirator. He wrote letters to Philip, King of Spain, asking assistance; this was found out, but the Queen, not willing to be severe, pardoned him on his promising good behaviour. This submission was not real, as he almost immediately invited the Earl of Munster to join him in rebellion.

'The war which followed lasted six years, filling Ireland with blood and fury.' The insurrection was at last put down. 'The sufferings resulting from it had been so terrible, that no further punishment

was inflicted, and even O'Neill was left in the enjoyment of his earldom.' This leniency was, however, only interpreted as weakness.

King James I

When James VI of Scotland became also King of England, the new reign was inaugurated by a general pardon, and hopes were entertained by the Romanists that he would favour their cause. 'The Gunpowder Plot in England showed their disappointment, and the King's gentle dealing with the disaffected in Ireland was construed into being the result of fear.

'The Old Irish party determined on one more desperate effort to throw off the English yoke. O'Neill and Tyrconnell were again the leaders. They had written to the Archduke of Flanders for assistance, but the conspiracy was discovered. The Earls tacitly confessed their guilt by flying abroad and refusing to return.' In the meantime another leader had burnt the town of Derry and murdered the Governor.

Early settlements in Antrim and Down

'The counties of Antrim and Down were already occupied by Scots, Western Highlanders, who had during three centuries been forming settlements in Ireland (the land of their forefathers), and they were much like the native Irish, but were more capable of improvement.

The Plantation of Ulster

'King James now determined on the systematic colonisation of the Province of Ulster by new "undertakers" from Scotland and from England.

'By the last treason of the two Earls and their

confederates, much land was escheated to the Crown in the counties of Donegal, Derry, Tyrone, Fermanagh, Armagh, and Cavan—about two million acres. Of these, one million and a half were restored to the Irish, consisting chiefly of forest, mountain, and peat (the latter being considered valuable for fuel), and the remaining half million acres of arable land was settled with families of English and Scots' (Protestants). These settlers were hardy, industrious, and enterprising, some of whom had suffered for their faith in their own lands. Of course it cannot be affirmed that all those who came were equally fit for the responsibility they undertook. But their task was a difficult one, for not only were they strangers, but the old retainers of the former owners were hostile to the new-comers, and large tracts of the land were in a neglected condition and the soil poor.

By 'undertakers' was meant those English and Scottish persons who undertook to pay to the Crown a certain rent, and brought over settlers to cultivate the land as tenants. They were responsible for the safety and for the good behaviour of their dependants.

Building of Bawns

'It seems probable that before the English came each family of Irish lived in a cabin, surrounded by a Bawn or enclosure of pallisades for defence against foes. The English introduced Castles, which were imitated by the Irish. In course of time a Bawn came to signify an enclosure, with a wall flanked by

towers. Each "Undertaker" was obliged by King James to build a strong Castle or Bawn on the lands granted, and he ordered that they should cause their tenants to build houses for themselves near to the principal Castle or Bawn for their mutual defence.[1]

Improved condition of Ulster

'Thus gradually a thrifty and energetic community more or less fully occupied the lands formerly badly or not at all cultivated. Dwelling-houses, farmsteads, churches, and schools were erected where till then had been but castles of robbers (free-booters), wattled huts, and mud cabins.' Other parts of Ireland had also become more cultivated, and commerce began to spring up between Ireland and England.

'In 1580 the population was roughly reckoned at half a million. In 1641 it had increased to almost a million and a half, and amongst them were 260,000 Protestants. Had good and firm government been continued during Charles I's reign, the condition of Ireland would have become fairly prosperous and contented. But this was not to be.'

[1] *Ulster Archæological Journal.*

CHAPTER IV

THE INSURRECTION OF 1641

Charles I sends Strafford to Ireland

In 1633 the Earl of Strafford was sent to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, and carried out a terrible system of confiscation of land which much exasperated the Irish.

Strafford was recalled in 1640. Owing to Charles' difficulties in England, Ireland was left without proper government, having no viceroy and no army.

The Irish were watching for an opportunity to revolt. England was divided against herself, and it was thought that now was the time for Ireland to free herself from the 'invaders,' as the English and Scots settlers were called.

Conspiracy against the settlers

'The conspiracy was well considered by the leaders of the Irish people, headed by the Roman Hierarchy. They met at the Abbey of Westmeath. Opinion in the Council was divided as to what course was to be taken towards the Protestant settlers . . . . The majority decided on the most violent measures. The settlers were to be dispossessed. Probably no directions were given to kill them, but a mob

let] loose to drive them from their homes might be left to its own discretion as regards life.' The English settlers were specially marked for severe treatment. We cannot enter into the details of this terrible massacre and devastation. The unhappy settlers were quite unprepared, and were driven out into the winter winds without clothing, and those who tried to defend themselves or to take refuge were murdered. Although several writers have tried to disprove the accounts which have come down to us, and have cut down the figures given, it is probable that about 12,000 were driven out, and of these 4000 killed. The Hierarchy of that day, however, put down a much higher figure.

The conspiracy against the settlers spread to other parts of Ireland. Those who were expelled from the North had in some cases fled to Dublin, and there Sir C. Coote gathered a few of them together to fight against the rebels in co. Wicklow.

'The news of the rising in Ireland, and the widespread devastation accomplished, produced a feeling of great horror in England, and King Charles, wishing to free himself of any responsibility in the matter, agreed to hand over the entire management of Ireland to Parliament.'

The war which, however, soon after broke out between the King and the English Parliament prevented an efficient force being sent to restore law and order in Ireland.

The Confederation of Kilkenny

Meantime those who had instigated the Rebellion and desired to see Ireland freed from English dominion assembled at Kilkenny and undertook to form the government of Ireland.

'This Confederation was a regularly organised and armed secession. The Confederates formed themselves into a supreme Council chiefly composed of the heads of the Roman Church, but in which some laymen took part.' The Pope sent his blessing on 'their gallant efforts' (as he called them) 'to root out from amongst them the workers of iniquity.'

King Charles and the Confederates

'Lord Ormond held Dublin for King Charles, and an attempt was made to treat with the confederates in the King's name, so as to gain their support. Lord Glamorgan had been sent to aid in this project, and a kind of agreement was drawn up which included a virtual acknowledgement of Papal supremacy in Ireland, in return for which, the confederates were to recognise the authority of King Charles and to aid him with arms. This arrangement being divulged caused great indignation in England and the Viceroy then tried to make one more favourable to Protestants.

The Papal Nuncio at Kilkenny

The conference was soon visited by the Papal Nuncio, who proceeded to excommunicate the members, because they had taken upon themselves to treat on any terms except "absolute Papal Suzerainty" over Ireland. "The business in front of them," he said, was "to purge and exterminate heresy out

of the country." The Nuncio actually imprisoned the leaders of the confederation for their semi-independent action, and having made a State entry into Kilkenny, chose by his own authority a new administrative body. A jubilant account of this proceeding was forwarded to Rome.'

'The Statutes of the first Council had included a general confiscation of all lands and property held in Ireland by Protestants, and other severe laws. Such was the aspect of Irish affairs on the eve of the arrival of Oliver Cromwell in Ireland.'

The war in England ended by the surrender of King Charles to the Parliamentary Army. Colonel Michael Jones, a distinguished officer in that army, came to Ireland with a strong force, and Ormond, the Viceroy, having previously surrendered in Dublin, left the country. Jones reorganised the remains of the English garrison of Dublin and went to Kilkenny to oppose the Irish. He defeated their army, which was led by General Preston. Thus the project promulgated at Kilkenny for *the attainder* of all those possessing land in Ireland, without authority from the Pope, was not permitted to take effect, and the Nuncio who had brought arms, powder, and Spanish dollars to aid in his 'mission' was obliged to make a sudden departure.

Failure of the Nuncio's mission

'Oliver Cromwell accepted the command of the Parliamentary Army in Ireland in 1647 and determined to end the war as soon as possible. . . . He

Oliver Cromwell in Ireland

saw that Ireland had to be re-conquered in all parts.' Ormond, who had left Ireland for a time, had since returned, and headed a strong force against Cromwell. Prince Rupert, from abroad, had landed at Kinsale with a band of 'Cavaliers' to aid the cause of Charles II.

Siege of Drogheda

'An army comprising several of the best regiments, almost entirely composed of English soldiers, had been stationed in Drogheda under Sir Charles Ashton.' Cromwell appeared under its walls and hoped that by waiting a little, a diversion would be made by Ashton and an action 'in the field' prevent a siege, but as he did not move (depending on a promise of aid from Ormond) Cromwell sent a summons to deliver up the town. The Governor gave no reply, and the next day the troops of the Parliament advanced to the assault. It was a fierce struggle, but in the end the town was taken and every tenth man 'under arms' was shot.

Wexford

'Cromwell next appeared before Wexford. The native inhabitants had of late committed special acts of cruelty. They had filled a hulk with their Protestant prisoners and had sunk it in the harbour, with all on board. Others they had starved to death in confinement. Cromwell summoned the town to surrender, promising to spare the lives of all, but the Governor held out for terms with which it was impossible he could comply, and Cromwell's

reply was that they must surrender in an hour, or suffer the consequences of refusal. The hour passed, and as no reply had been received, the town was taken by storm, and the garrison put to the sword. These severe measures ended the war in that part of Ireland. In other counties some further fighting took place. Clanrickarde still struggled feebly for King Charles, but those who were loudest for resistance were making private terms for themselves. 'The Irish,' the King's supporters said, were 'not to be relied on.'

Although Cromwell's methods were too severe for the approval of present-day historians, they were not worse than those employed in other countries at the time, and it is certain that his wrath was only against those who had gained power by evil-doing, and that his desire was to benefit the downtrodden and poor inhabitants of all creeds and parties. After quiet was restored in the southern provinces, it is said that the peasantry were at last enabled to reap the reward of their labours, while their real oppressors received their deserts.

After the death of Cromwell there was little or no effort to continue the Commonwealth in England, under his successor, who proved himself quite incapable of taking his father's place, and Charles, son of the late King, was invited to return and was accepted with little opposition as King Charles II. It was hoped that he was of a different disposition and of

King Charles II

more dependable character than his father, and that he had learned through adversity many good lessons.

The English people, however, were disappointed in the result of the recall of Charles. He had little stability, and the general tendency of his reign was to allow manners and ways to revert to those which had been condemned by the Puritans. He consented to much injustice towards them, and it became unlawful to be a dissenter from the now re-established Church of England, and much persecution followed. (It was at this time that John Bunyan was imprisoned and wrote 'The Pilgrim's Progress.')

The influence of Louis XIV on Charles

Charles was, it is believed, secretly a Roman Catholic, though professing to accept the Reformed Faith. He was under the influence of the French King Louis XIV, who persecuted the Protestants of France, and Charles was receiving money for himself and for his courtiers from Louis, with a view to helping the cause of his religion in England. In Ireland one of Charles' first acts was to restore the Established Church there and to oblige all other Protestants to conform to it. This action was followed by persecution and naturally separated the Protestants, who had been united against a hostile religion, into divided forces.

He disappointed the Irish Roman Catholics by not conceding all they expected, but would have favoured them more if he had been able to do so. He sanctioned the appointment of a Court with judges

to investigate the titles under which land in Ireland was held, and in many cases the former possessors were allowed to regain lands forfeited during the wars of Charles I and Cromwell. Those soldiers and other new-comers who had received land confiscated under Oliver Cromwell agreed to give up one-third for the satisfaction of Royalist claims. An Act of Settlement was at last passed, which it was hoped would make for peace, but it did not at all satisfy the old Irish party, which required the restoration of all lands once claimed by their forefathers.

The Act of Settlement

In the year 1685 a large number of French Protestants took refuge in England from the persecution which followed the massacre consequent on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, under King Louis XIV of France. They brought with them much valuable knowledge of arts and manufactures, and many came also to Ireland, where they introduced improvements in the manufacture of linen. This manufacture had previously been commenced in the northern counties, and has now become one of the most flourishing under the still further impetus of steam, as applied to spinning and weaving.

Massacre of Protestants in France

The Huguenots had suffered much for their religion, and brought with them the steady devotion to God and to duty which was such a valuable characteristic of these refugees. Some of their descendants are still to be found in Ireland.

The Huguenots

CHAPTER V

WILLIAM OF ORANGE

In 1685 James II ascended the English throne. He was a professed Roman Catholic, and those of the Reformed religion both in England and Ireland were in great apprehension as regards their liberties.

James II promulgates the Roman Catholic religion

Recent events on the continent of Europe did not tend to lessen their fear, and James soon increased it by making plain his intention to promulgate his religion in every possible way. Those who thought with him in Ireland were ready to further his designs.

He appointed Richard Talbot, afterwards Earl of Tyrconnell, commander of the forces. 'He disbanded hundreds of officers likely to oppose him and replaced them with his own favourites, and also appointed Roman Catholic Judges, Sheriffs, and Magistrates.'

Panic amongst Protestants in Ireland

Later on James made Tyrconnell Lord Lieutenant, and this created a panic over the whole country, so that hundreds of families fled from their homes to England and elsewhere. Meantime the King had entered on the dangerous task of promulgating the

Roman religion in England, but a few years' experience of his proceedings so exasperated the English people that they determined to have a Protestant King in his stead. James, in terror, fled to France, and in 1688, William, Prince of Orange, was invited over by Parliament and was offered the Crown of England. 'Seeing the turn which things had taken in England, Tyrconnell adopted strong measures to secure Ireland for James. In the south and west there was little resistance, but in Ulster, Derry and Enniskillen refused to admit his soldiers as garrisons.'

England stands firm against Romanism

Flight of James

William of Orange

The citizens of Derry were greatly alarmed at Tyrconnell's doings. Numbers of people from the surrounding districts, feeling themselves defenceless, poured into the city.

Colonel Lundy, the Governor, had been inclined to make terms and to agree to admit the soldiers of King James, but the citizens, who were now chiefly Protestants, refused, and shut the gates, thereby defying the force sent to quell them.

Seige of Londonderry

The inhabitants defended the city against fearful odds, having few soldiers, very little ammunition, and scanty supplies of food. King James had by this time landed in Ireland, hoping to carry all before him, but being refused entrance into Derry, he left with his followers for Dublin. An army of foreigners was sent against the city to support the Irish brigade, and had orders to reduce the place by famine and force

King James' Irish Brigade aided by French troops

of artillery, but although decimated by hunger and the cannon of the enemy, the people of Derry continued to hold out—the worst trial being to see in the distance the masts of the fleet of ships which had been sent to relieve them, but whose commander either would not, or could not, come to their aid. To make the relief more difficult the besiegers had made a boom or barrier across the channel of Lough Foyle, through which the ships had to pass. At last a more adventurous commander succeeded in breaking through the boom after a severe struggle, and, under the fire of the batteries on shore, brought his ship beneath the walls, the other ships soon following. A cry of joy and thankfulness arose amidst the smoke and turmoil as it was realised that relief had come and the siege was at an end.

Relief of Derry

From April 1689 to July Derry had held out, but of the 7000 fighting men who began the struggle only 4300 remained, and it is estimated that altogether 10,000 persons must have perished during the siege.

The ancient walls on which the defenders fought still remain, and a monument was erected some years afterwards upon them in memory of George Walker, the leader of the people of Derry, and of 'the apprentice boys' who, having shut the gates, gave their lives in its defence.

Yearly commemoration

The anniversary of the 'No Surrender Day' is kept year by year in Derry by the descendants of the apprentice boys and other of the loyal inhabitants of the city.

The siege of Derry, however, was only the beginning of the struggle. 'King William crossed to Ireland in 1690 and landed at Carrickfergus, where some of the forces he had already despatched were encamped. He moved on towards Dublin, and James, with a motley army, partly Irish partly French, with foreign officers in command, met him near Drogheda.'

William of Orange lands at Carrick-fergus

Here the famous battle of the Boyne was fought, which resulted in victory for William of Orange, and James, when he saw that 'the day' was lost, fled to Dublin, leaving his Irish troops to do the best they could. A Roman Catholic author thus writes to his fellow-countrymen:

Battle of the Boyne

'May the descendants of those Gaels [that is those who fought for King James] come to learn that the pale slender Prince who led the victors of the Boyne had long been a patriot—that alone, amid a cowed and frightened Europe, he had faced and dared the worst menace of the absolute monarch of France . . . that he had cut the dykes of his free Holland in order to make an impassable barrier between the vast hosts of the invader, and the slender garrisons which held the forts of his nation's independence . . . and when Irishmen come alike to know the truths of history and the triumph of conscience, Catholics will cease to deny that William of Orange was the Father of all constitutional progress, and Protestants will not refuse a soldier's tribute to the

Tribute to King William by a Roman Catholic author

foes . . . who fought for *tyranny* only because they had been mistaught to call it justice and right ! '

The war was now carried into other parts of Ireland, and battles were fought and sieges carried on with vigour on both sides.

Siege and capitulation of Limerick

The siege of Limerick was a difficult one for William's commander, and the capitulation had hardly been signed when a French fleet, with arms and ammunition, appeared to aid the defenders. If the French had successfully interfered they might have greatly weakened William's cause in the south of Ireland. Having, however, arrived too late the fleet returned whence they came. Finally, all opposition to the English army was overcome, and Ireland was saved from becoming a dependency of France and a vassal of Rome under the secret treaty King James II had made with Louis XIV.

' William was always respected by his foes, and no matter how mistaken they had been, he was inclined to believe that by leniency they might be won over to more open-minded opinions. His endeavours to have the civil articles of the " Treaty of Limerick " properly carried out is a proof of his kindly feelings towards his fallen enemies.' The words which form the first article of the civil part are as follow :

' The Roman Catholics of this Kingdom [i.e. Ireland] shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the laws of Ireland

or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles II; and their Majesties [William and Mary], as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a Parliament of this Kingdom, will *endeavour to procure* the said Roman Catholics such further security in that particular as may preserve them from any disturbance on account of their said religion.'

There was also a disputed clause concerning the restoration of confiscated lands. These clauses the Parliaments of England and of Ireland refused to carry out to their full extent, considering that they had a right of decision.

Irish Parliament thanks King William but confirms the rights of the Protestant Colonists

'The Dublin Houses of Parliament began their sittings on October 5. Both Houses expressed their most hearty thanks to William for coming in person to fight for their liberties. They admitted the intimate relations between England and Ireland. But when they were asked to give up what the loss of so many lives in the late war had been sacrificed to purchase, they drew a petition to the Crown complaining of the pardons and protections which prevented the Colonists from recovering their farms, and of the 'idle and mischievous attempts at reconciling the irreconcilable.' Other disputes followed; the Lord Lieutenant had hoped to find a complacent assembly, but now prorogued it, with an angry rebuke.'

There was also a strong party in England which took the same view of the situation as the petitioners.

CHAPTER VI

PROPOSED UNION WITH ENGLAND

Queen Anne

QUEEN ANNE, daughter of James II, ascended the throne in 1702. Ireland still had a separate and wholly Protestant Parliament, which dissolved automatically on the death of the Sovereign.

It had never been truly representative of the people of Ireland, not even of the Protestants, as Nonconformists had not seats in it. Poyning's Act was still in force. This was enacted in the reign of Henry VII to restrain the Anglo-Norman Parliament. 'It caused that the Irish Parliament could no longer make laws without the knowledge and consent of the English King and Council.'

Poyning's Act

In the reign of Charles II an addition had been made to it, giving the English Parliament power to make laws for Ireland. Much friction was thereby caused between the two Parliaments.

It seems, however, reasonable that some control should have been exercised over laws to be made in Ireland, which would certainly affect England more

or less, and a legislative Union would have solved the question.

'The first Irish Parliament of Queen Anne's reign was a newly elected one. The effect of the Revolutionary struggle through which the country had passed, inclined their minds to a "Legislative Union" with England.'

At that time Protestants composed a large proportion of the population, and the Irish House of Commons considered that the drawing together of the two countries would result in good to the commercial and agricultural interests of Ireland.

A year later (1703) they sat to consider the state of affairs in Ireland. All the speakers concluded 'that they did in a most earnest manner desire a Union with England. . . . The temper and good disposition of the debate surprised most people. . . . They were and always had been,' they said, 'most loyal, but Ireland from many causes was miserable.'

Irish Parliament desires Union with England

The Commons implored the Queen to consider the many wrongs concerning their commerce, and other things from which they suffered, and 'to concede the only measure which could really relieve them, i.e. a firm and strict Union between Ireland and England.'

Queen Anne's ministers, unhappily, caused her to turn a deaf ear to this proposal, and that which

Request denied

would then have been gratefully accepted as a boon from England was denied them.

The Protestants were thus thrown back upon themselves. They still dreaded a renewal of disaffection, which showed itself ready to break out afresh. The disbanded soldiers of King James' army which remained in Ireland were becoming outlaws, and the inhabitants of many parts had no regular employment, and lived as best they could on those in better circumstances.

If the Union had been granted, and equal laws carried out concerning crime and outlawry, and if commerce and industry, which were just beginning to show themselves, had been encouraged, instead of being thwarted in every direction, it is possible that many of the unhappy events of the following reigns would have been prevented.

The Union between England and Scotland

The refusal of England to accept the Union with Ireland seems the more strange, in that she concluded a Union with Scotland in the year 1707.

'The Act passed in January of that year threw open to Scotland all the resources of England, and, on the other hand, gave to England the energy and enterprise of the Scotsmen who have taken their share in strengthening the British Empire, to which both countries are proud to belong.'

At this time (early eighteenth century) England was unhappily engaged in foreign wars and little

attention was given to Irish affairs. The country districts were without defence as almost all the English soldiers had gone to fight abroad. Bands of marauders committed outrages on the peaceable inhabitants, and the crimes they committed often went unpunished from lack of proper government.

Crime and outlawry in Ireland

Instead of the union with England which the Irish Parliament wished for, the British Parliament promised to pass an additional Act for 'the suppression of Popery.' This, it was hoped, would relieve the Protestants from fear of another insurrection.

Fears of Irish Protestants

An Act was drawn up in Dublin containing various clauses to restrain the power of the Roman priesthood over the people, and to prevent the spread of their religion. This document was sent to Westminster for approval, and consent to most of the Irish Parliament's clauses given. When the law was passed, however, it was found impossible fully to carry out its regulations, which were very frequently evaded, and at the same time were the cause of hardship to the Roman Catholics and produced much resentment.

An author who generally takes the side of the 'Old Irish Party' writes thus:

Irish author's remarks on the Penal Laws

'To us, looking back on those evil times . . . the picture is not wholly black. There are spots brightened by humanity which should stir up feelings of mutual kindness among people of the present day.'

After giving examples of the good feeling which often showed itself between those who by religious differences were most opposed to each other, the author continues:

'Along with this, it is well known that towards the middle of the eighteenth century, though the worst of the penal statutes remained in force, many of them were quietly suffered to fall into disuse.

'We must also remember,' he adds, 'that Ireland was not the only country where severe laws against religion (whether Protestant or Roman Catholic) were in force.'

'In many parts of Europe at that time,' we read, 'there were stringent penal laws, so it would be unjust to view those of our kingdom as if they stood alone,' and it was many long years ere 'toleration' became the accepted rule, even in England and America.

Restrictions on Irish commerce

The restrictions put on Irish trade, which were insisted on by English merchants, prevented freedom for carrying on Irish industries of various kinds.

Irish wool was superior in quality to that of England, and was greatly sought after on the Continent of Europe. The English traders said they would be ruined if free trade in Irish wool was permitted, and so represented their case to the Westminster Parliament that it was made an offence against the law to export wool from Ireland at all.

Legitimate trade being thus discouraged, smuggling

took its place and was connived at as a necessary evil, and few classes were free from complicity in it.

When the latest penal law against Roman Catholics was passed by the Westminster Parliament for Ireland, they added to it the Test Act which had been in force in England since the reign of Charles II, depriving all Roman Catholics and also Nonconformists of all share in official positions, and other severe enactments.

The Irish Parliament was against this addition but was obliged to retain it. Presbyterians and Dissenters were therefore harshly treated and suffered much persecution on account of their religion.

Emigration of Irish Protestants to America

In consequence of this, and from the want of freedom for legitimate trading, large numbers of the Protestant settlers of Ireland emigrated to America and other places. Ireland thus lost a large number of its most industrious inhabitants—people who would be a source of strength to any state; people who had long stood up for freedom from Papal control; who held the doctrine of man's responsibility to God alone, and who accepted the Bible as the Word of God and the final appeal in matters of faith.

Speech of U.S.A. Ambassador in 1911

The late Mr. Whitelaw Reid, Ambassador from the U.S.A., in a remarkable speech testified to the sterling qualities of these immigrants to whom, he says, the United States owes so much.

The danger of a fresh insurrection dreaded by the Protestants was a very real one, for the son of

James II by Mary of Modena, called 'the Pretender,' was only biding his time to bring on a revolution in his own favour.

Accession of George I

After George I (of Hanover) became King under the Protestant Succession Act, the friends of James Stuart provided aid for an attempt to recover the Crown, and he landed in Scotland, where several of the Highland clans espoused his cause, in 1715.

Attempts in Scotland to restore the Stuart dynasty

In Ireland some were prepared to join his standard if he succeeded in Scotland, and great perturbation was felt by Protestants in Ireland. James Stuart was not, however, the kind of man to win popularity, and in the end his cause was quite unsuccessful.

In later years his son Charles tried his fortune with somewhat better success, and being young and handsome gained many Scots to his standard. A French invasion, too, was threatened, and even in London the greatest alarm prevailed. A battle took place against the troops of King George at Falkirk, where the charge of the Highlanders was successful in forcing them to retreat; but a few months later the decisive battle of Culloden Moor was fought, and Charles was obliged to fly from the country in disguise. No further attempt was made by the French in his support, and Scotland only retained a poetic attachment for the name of 'Bonnie Prince Charlie.'

CHAPTER VII

GRATTAN'S PARLIAMENT

We must here allude to the events which were taking place on the American continent.

In 1763 the Seven Years' War with the European powers of Spain and France came to an end, and Great Britain possessed Canada as well as her more southern colonies in America. Those North American colonies had a quarrel with England and took up arms against her in 1775.

In 1776 they declared their independence. Many of the inhabitants in the American colonies were, however, still loyal to the mother country and refused to join the 'United States,' but passing into Canada, settled there, and the descendants of these (who called themselves the 'United Empire Loyalists') are justly proud of their ancestry. ('History of England,' H. O. Arnold Forster.)

The Declaration of Independence by U.S.A.

'United Empire Loyalists'

In 1782 we find that England was again at war with France and Spain, also with Holland and Sweden and the United States.

The Revolution in France which commenced in 1789 was drawing near, and the whole of Europe being in a ferment, we cannot feel surprised that Ireland should be infected by it, and to this may, in a measure, be traced the upheavals which took place in the following unhappy era.

During England's wars Ireland was left in a very defenceless state. Thus in 1760 an Irishman called O'Farrell, who had taken the name of Thurot, descended with a French squadron on Carrickfergus, took the castle, plundered the town, and threatened Belfast.

Some years afterwards J. Paul Jones, a Scotsman, in the service of the United States, came with his privateer called the *Ranger*, and committed depredations off the coast of Ireland. Outside Carrickfergus he captured an English brig and got safely off with her to Brest.

The Ulster Volunteer Movement of 1778

The inhabitants saw that if they were to be protected at all they must protect themselves, and this conviction gave rise to the 'Volunteer Movement,' which was begun towards the end of 1778.

The first volunteer companies were raised in Belfast, after which the movement rapidly spread, and by May of the following year nearly 4000 were enrolled in the counties of Down and Antrim.

'The county gentlemen armed and drilled their tenants. The authorities did not look on this movement

with favour . . . but the feeling of the country was too strong for them.'

The formation of volunteer companies extended to other parts of Ireland, and before the end of the year 42,000 were enrolled. Those who joined the bands were loyal to England, but they desired reform in many directions. The leaders formed themselves into a party in the Irish House of Commons, and with the support of the volunteers they succeeded in having redressed some of the grievances regarding restrictions on trade. Edmund Burke had previously done his best to gain this by speeches in the Parliament at Westminster.

Henry Grattan and his party

Henry Grattan and his party, who all held offices in Ireland under the Crown, now came forward and made great efforts towards the repeal of other laws, adverse, as they considered, to the good government of Ireland.

It has been wisely said that 'the worst effect of unjust legislation is the difficulty of retiring from it, without causing worse evils than those which are removed. Concessions necessary because right in themselves, when yielded through weakness, shake the principle of authority.'

Grattan opened his campaign in the Irish House of Commons in April 1780, and proposed the following resolutions :—

1. 'The king, with consent of the Parliament

of Ireland (Lords and Commons) was alone competent to enact laws for Ireland.'

2. 'Great Britain and Ireland were indissolubly united, but only under the tie of a common sovereign.'

Grattan's effort for repeal of Poyning's Act

This would involve the repeal of Poyning's Act, which, as we have seen, made the consent of the English Parliament necessary for passing Irish laws, the repeal also of the additional Act passed in the sixth year of George I, which gave the Parliament of Westminster the right to legislate for Ireland.

Grattan's action produced a great sensation in the Dublin Parliament, the majority of which seemed to be in favour of the resolution, but the House finally adjourned without a division.

Two persons had spoken against the resolution: one was the Attorney-General, who said it was unfair to take advantage of the critical position of England, at the moment, to demand the change; the other was a young Irishman, Mr. Fitzgibbon, who reminded the House that 'the resolution would mean a revival, not of the nationality of the Protestants in Ireland, but of the Irish Celts.' It meant undoing the work of Queen Elizabeth, King James I, and of Cromwell, and would involve a struggle for the revocation of the Act of Settlement, and entail unending disputes over land in all directions.

Danger of the repeal

However, in the following year a bill was brought

in embodying similar proposals, and was sent by the Viceroy to England for approval.

Partial independence for Irish Parliament

Lord North's Ministry had by this time gone out of office, and Fox was Prime Minister. With his support the measure was carried through the English Parliament, and the Irish Parliament was given the right to make its own laws, but subject still to the Royal Assent. This, however, by no means ended the difficulties in the arrangement of Ireland's relations with Great Britain. The two countries were intimately related and could not act as if wholly independent of each other.

The Act of Repeal, as it was called, was communicated by the Viceroy to the Irish Parliament on May 27, 1782.

All those who united with Henry Grattan acknowledged that to him success in passing the Act was mainly due, and his disinterestedness, energy, and eloquence were greatly applauded.

It is this same Parliament that is often referred to as Grattan's Parliament. It had, it is true, become almost a new Parliament, on account of the extended power now given to it, but there had been no dissolution, no new election, and the same members sat and voted as before. It was entirely composed of Protestants of the Established Church, as Roman Catholics were still unfranchised. Presbyterians and Dissenters had very little political power, though they formed

a part of the colony of Ulster and had helped to hold the country for England in two rebellions.

Grattan and his party, having gained so much, hoped to improve the Parliament itself. It had become in many ways corrupted by Court favour. The boroughs for which the members were elected had few voters, and the electors gave their votes as directed by wealth or interest. This state of things could not be attacked with impunity, and there were few like Grattan disinterested enough to push for reform.

Lecky's views on Irish Parliament

'The parliamentary system of the eighteenth century might be represented very differently by its enemies, and by its friends. Neither representation would be altogether true.'

'We have just looked at its bad side, but we should also remember that it was a body largely composed of independent country gentlemen . . . the lines of party were but faintly drawn, most questions were settled by mutual compromise or general concurrence, and it was only in a small class of political questions that the corrupt power of government seems to have been strained.'

'Most of its work was of that practical and unobstrusive character which leaves no trace in history. Several useful laws were made with regard to prisons and debtors, to establish hospitals, to make harbours and canals, to encourage local institutions and industries. . . . The system of government indeed,

though corrupt, anomalous, and exposed to many dangers, was not one of those which are incompatible with a large measure of national prosperity.'[1]

Grattan desired to admit Roman Catholics of some standing to the suffrage. A bill in their favour had been sent to England for approval, for it was still necessary to obtain the consent of the Westminster Parliament to annul laws which had been passed there for Ireland.

This bill was now passed as well as some in favour of Nonconformists. We here insert a few lines from the well-known author already quoted, which we shall do well to consider carefully :

Modern schemes for the Government of Ireland

'To an historian of the eighteenth century . . . few things can be more grotesquely absurd than to suppose that the merits, or demerits, the failure, or the success, of the old Irish Parliament, has any real bearing on modern schemes for reconstructing the Government of Ireland, on a revolutionary, or Jacobine basis; entrusting the protection of property and the maintenance of law to some democratic assembly, consisting mainly of Fenians and land leaguers, of paid agitators and of penniless adventurers.'[2]

The volunteers which had been raised at first for the defence of the country had latterly become a political party, and had held meetings in which strong resolutions were passed for reform. All the corps

[1] Lecky's *History of Ireland.* [2] *Ibid.*

were at first Protestants and were held in hand by Grattan and by the Earl of Charlemont, but when, under less responsible leaders, they ventured to dictate to Parliament, it was finally decided to disband them.

Discontent of the 'United Irishmen'

In the meantime the old Irish party were gaining strength, and were joined in a measure by the discontented Presbyterians, who had not forgotten the injustice done them in former days. Reform was not going fast enough for the 'United Irishmen,' as they called themselves. Many disturbances were taking place, and lawless bands of different sides met and fought.

Partial Franchise for Roman Catholics

In 1793 a bill was passed through the Irish Parliament giving power to Roman Catholic 'forty-shilling freeholders' to vote for members of that Parliament. This measure gave them great political power and influence.

Roman Catholics were now permitted to enter Trinity College, and almost all civil and military positions were open to them. They could serve on a jury, and be made magistrates.

Grattan's party wished to admit them to seats in Parliament, but this last the Irish House of Commons would not consent to. An Act was passed at the time, which gave offence to the 'United Irishmen,' preventing the importation of arms and ammunition, and giving power to search for such.

This was no doubt, as we shall see, a necessary precaution, England and France being at war at this time, and the dangerous sympathy of the United Irishmen towards the French revolutionary party was well known to the Government. The name of Wolfe Tone was very conspicuous in connection with that party, and he knew all their secrets.

Wolfe Tone

It has been already remarked that the effect of the American Declaration of Independence, and of the Revolution in France, had been to raise the hopes of the Old Irish towards becoming a republic, separated from the British Empire.

The Old Irish Party desire a Republic

In 1795, with the consent of Pitt, then Prime Minister of England, Earl Fitzwilliam, an Irishman, had been sent to Ireland as Viceroy. His appointment gave great joy to the Roman Catholics as he was known to be in favour of 'conciliation,' and they considered that their cause was won when a bill was passed in Dublin to allow them to have seats in the Irish Parliament. It was, however, still necessary for the bill to be ratified by the King. It was supposed that he would consent to do so, but whether from conscientious motives concerning his oath or the representations of advisers from Ireland, King George III refused to endorse the bill. Earl Fitzwilliam was suddenly recalled, to the great disappointment of almost all parties in Ireland, and the bill was quashed.

Bill to admit Roman Catholics to Parliament rejected

We must remember that the bill was passed in the Dublin Parliament under a good deal of pressure and against the judgment of some good men who knew Ireland well, that it was not till 1829 that Roman Catholics were admitted to the English House of Commons, and lastly, that the 'Patriots,' as they were called, only considered 'representation' as a means to an end. They had little sense of satisfaction in the prospect of becoming members of the now free Irish Parliament, but wished to use power, if they obtained it, for the overthrow of the cause of Protestantism in Ireland.

Arguments against the bill

One of the speakers in the debate in the Dublin House of Commons put the case as follows: 'The descendants of the Old Irish who constitute "the Roman Catholic interest" feel that they can never recover the situation which their ancestors held, but by separation from Great Britain. Therefore if any man, there, or in Ireland, is so wild as to hope that by communicating political power to them, they can be conciliated to British interests, he will find himself bitterly mistaken.

'Great Britain can never conciliate the descendants of the Old Irish . . . upon any other terms than by restoring to them all the possessions, and the religion of their ancestors, in full splendour and *Dominion*.'

CHAPTER VIII

THE REBELLION OF 1798

'THERE are those who believe that if the King had not interfered, the Roman Catholics would have gratefully accepted the equality, which would have been offered to them and would thenceforward have become contented citizens of the British Empire—and that if they had not been given encouragement to expect full enfranchisement they would not have raised a rebellion when it was refused. To the careful student these positions are alike untenable.' The situation may, however, have precipitated the crisis. It was realised by the malcontents that now there was a chance of success for them.

Wolfe Tone and French Fleet

England had a European war upon her hands and help might be obtained from France. In the next year (1796) Wolfe Tone, who had not for some time taken any prominent part, again came forward, and, being authorised by his party, he went to Paris to open negotiations with the French 'Directory' (as the new Government there was called).

He won over Carnot, one of the Directory, and General Hoche to his scheme, and the same year a French fleet of forty-three vessels, containing 15,000 troops, under General Hoche's command, was actually despatched, with Wolfe Tone on board. It succeeded in evading the British fleet in the English Channel, and bore down on the Irish coast, suddenly appearing off Cape Clear.

The providential occurrence of terrific storms, however, prevented the French from landing, and their fleet was obliged to give up the perilous undertaking. Finding that the help of the French would not be forthcoming, the organisers of rebellion were thrown back upon themselves, and finally arranged a general rising for May 23, 1798.

Commencement of the Rebellion

They had not a good supply of trained men, but relied on the peasantry to join their forces with whatever warlike weapons they could gather. The collection of these had been going on for a considerable time.

They counted, too, for success, on the terror their presence would produce on the loyal inhabitants of the country districts. The Irish Government were, however, aware of the plot, and if a sufficiently strong and numerous army had been ready to take action the horrors of that awful time might have been considerably lessened. As it was, the English Government grudged efficient assistance to put down a 'rising' which they deemed insignificant. It was not till

Troops insufficient to quell the Rebellion

thoroughly convinced by news of the conflicts and of the murderous doings of the rebels that England sent the forces which had been anxiously looked for by the loyal inhabitants. Meantime the few regiments available to put down the rising were scattered in sections, many miles apart. 'With some rebellious elements in each detachment, they were dangerously liable to be overwhelmed. To surprise these parties separately and destroy them, before they could combine, was the rebel plan for opening the campaign.'

An attempt of this nature at Rathcool was happily averted, as warning was received by the officers in time to prevent it. But at a place called Prosperous the barracks were attacked at night. The rebels having set fire to the building watched the entrances, so that when the soldiers tried to escape from the fire each one as he emerged was killed or desperately wounded.

Burning of barracks at Prosperous

It would take too long to give a detailed account of the rebellion. It was checked in Dublin by the arrest of several well-known conspirators.

'In the south and west the fierce Irish spirit was awake, eager to join the leaders and revenge the arrest of those sworn to put an end to "Saxon rule."' The heads of the Roman Church and most of the priests avoided any open sympathy with their people, but were ready to take advantage of all that would, as they thought, advance their own cause.

A priest called Murphy was very enthusiastic. He and another priest of the same name got together large bands of armed men. After saying Mass for his followers, Father John proceeded to lead them against the soldiers of the Government, and succeeded in many cases in driving them back.

'But the worst feature of the rebellion was the treachery and cruelty of the semi-organised rabble to the unarmed Protestants in all parts of the country.

'Vinegar Hill in County Wexford became a rallying point of the rebellion. A kind of camp was formed of all sorts of men, armed and unarmed, ready to attack those who should oppose them. . . . Gangs of ruffians were sent to scour the country and bring in every Protestant that could be found. These were brought up in batches, and all who were proved to have acted against the insurgents were put to death.' Finally the rebels were driven from the hill, but not before a large number of loyalists had been massacred.

Massacres of Protestants

We forbear to tell of the horrors enacted at Wexford Bridge and the barn at Scullabogue, which are well known to all students of Irish history.

Some persons account for these crimes by saying that they were committed in revenge for the repression to which the people had been subjected. It seems, however, strange that the new outbreak should take place when most of the severe laws had just been repealed. The rebellion is evidence that the people

were being led by evil men. If the best aspirations of these leaders produced such terrible results, it surely could not be for the good of the country to be governed by them.

The rebellion was somewhat delayed in the north of Ireland, and was of short duration. Though better organised than elsewhere, there were more effective troops at hand to contend with it.

Rebel 'United Irishmen' in the north

It is greatly to the dishonour of the north of Ireland that some who had imbibed the spirit of the French Revolution, thus discarding the principles of their worthy ancestors, joined the rebellion. On June 7, 1798, an attack was made by the rebels on the town of Antrim, but after a fierce battle in the main street, the insurgents were beaten back by the troops. Another encounter took place near Downpatrick, where the soldiers again scattered the bands opposed to them. The authorities acted with promptitude and firmness, and soon succeeded in stamping out the rebellion in the north, punishing the instigators very severely.

Wolfe Tone made one more attempt to obtain foreign aid, and Hardi's expedition sailed from Brest with a war vessel and eight frigates. They arrived at the entrance of Lough Swilly in co. Donegal on October 10, 1798. On the following morning an English squadron attacked the *Hoche*, which had been left alone, the frigates having sailed away. For six

hours, it is said, she fought the British before being disabled, and was a useless hulk at the end of the battle. Thus ended the efforts of the French to help the Irish at that time.

At last the Government put down all attempts at organised rebellion in Ireland. The leaders were tried, and some of them put to death, not only for being rebels, but for the dreadful deeds which had been done in their name and in many instances with their authority. They had an able defender when put on their trial in Dublin, whose name was John Philpot Curran; but even his eloquence did not avail for those whose guilt had been fully proved.

CHAPTER IX

THE UNION AND ITS RESULTS

The English Government had at last realised the great danger which Great Britain had incurred by having a rebellious dependency at her doors during a time of national peril from foreign enemies. Three several attempts to invade Ireland had been made by France at the request of the Irish Rebels.

William Pitt and Ireland

William Pitt determined to prevent a recurrence of such rebellion, and (to quote from Arnold Forster's 'History') 'he made up his mind that the time had come when the only safety for the State was to be found in treating Ireland as Scotland had been treated in 1707, and allowing her to send members to the Imperial Parliament in London, instead of keeping up a separate and independent Parliament in Dublin. Accordingly . . . a bill was brought into the Irish House of Commons for the purpose of creating a Parliamentary Union between Great Britain and Ireland, and a similar bill was brought in and passed without difficulty in the British Parliament.

'In Ireland, although the bill was fiercely resisted by some, there was great difference of opinion as to whether the change ought to be made or not, and many petitions both for and against the bill were sent up from all parts of the country. One strange difficulty had to be got over.

'At that time a seat in Parliament, *both in England* and in Ireland, was often looked upon as the property of some nobleman or rich person, who was said "to own the seat." So common had the practice of buying and selling seats become, that "the rights" of the owners had come to be admitted by all.' The English Government at last actually consented to buy out the privileged class.

The Act of Union passed

'On February 18, 1800, the bill was passed in Dublin by a majority of forty-six, and on August 2 the Act, having passed the British Houses of Parliament, received the Royal Assent.

'It is known as the Act of Union, and it provided that from that time forward the Protestant Parliament in Dublin should come to an end, and that Ireland, like Scotland, should send members straight to the Imperial Parliament at Westminster.'

Grattan and his party had naturally protested against the bill. But there were others, quite as truly patriotic, who supported the Union with vigour, although they did not expect that it would immediately prove a panacea for the troubles of Ireland.

Results of the Union

It cannot be disputed that after the Union Ireland gained gradually in prosperity and enlightenment. Commerce with England was encouraged, and in many parts enterprise took the place of indolence.

By the introduction of steamers and railways, and by the application of electricity, Ireland shared in all the benefits of mechanical science. Factories were built and employment given to the dwellers in the towns, and shipping facilities were greatly increased by improved harbours.

A system of agricultural co-operation for the benefit of Irish farmers has of late years been carried out, and its regulations are gradually extending through the south and west. By this system the producers deal directly with their customers, avoiding the charges of middlemen, which have always been the bane of farmers.

Unfortunately many parts of Ireland are still in a backward condition, chiefly owing to preventable causes, which can be overcome by patient continuance in industry and better education.

What all true patriots desire is to see the inhabitants in all parts of Ireland more fully availing themselves of the opportunities for improvement now placed within their reach.

But there is a party in Ireland who will never be satisfied with anything short of complete separation from England. These men will not let the country

settle down to the peace and prosperity which since the Union has steadily been increasing. They work on the emotional feelings of the people by presenting a false idea of what Home Rule would mean for Ireland, and use every pretext to stir up discord and strife between their credulous followers and the loyal minority.

Home Rule Bills

During the past year, 1913, a bill for annulling the Union has been before Parliament. At the instigation of the agitators, two similar bills were introduced since the Union and both were defeated, the British nation realising that the proposal would not be for the real good of Ireland or of the kingdom. No stronger arguments can be brought forward in support of the present bill than those which were advanced in favour of the bills of 1886 and 1893.

Object of Irish agitators

The promulgators of the bill now before Parliament only accept it as an instalment of what they desire eventually to obtain, i.e. complete separation from England. Against the bill are the loyalists of Ireland, who are the most industrious and best educated portion of the population and belong to every class throughout the country. They are convinced that Home Rule would be subversive of their civil and religious liberties, disastrous to the well-being of the whole of Ireland—nay, more, that it would be a danger to England, because it would be delivering the Government of Ireland into the hands of those who have

Irish loyalists

over and over again openly advocated separation from England.

The loyalists of Ireland, realising the greatness of the issue, have taken their stand against Home Rule. They find it difficult to believe that England, who repudiated for herself Rome's claim to supremacy, would try to compel the Protestants of Ireland to submit to a yoke which she herself refused to bear, and which she would not think of imposing to-day on Protestant people in any part of Great Britain.

The situation, then, is of the very gravest character. May the eyes of the people of England be opened, and a verdict given which shall secure the supremacy of the King, maintain the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, and safeguard, for this and succeeding generations, those civil and religious liberties which were purchased at so great a price, and which, if once lost, may never be regained!

Civil and religious liberty at stake

THE END

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